



Certainly, this great philosopher is not one of those who are continually crying "Lord! Lord!" but when did he fail to do the duty of a man?

#### SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I listened to the resolutions which have been read with a great deal of interest. I assent to them heartily. At the same time, in regard to one portion of the series, I am not very confident in respect to the necessity of their passage. I refer to those related to the tone of the discussion in regard to British aggression—in regard to the right of our navy, and our mercantile marine, as against British cruisers. I agree, as an American, with the doctrine on the right of search, as laid down by Mr. Cass. I think he has claimed too much, and that the British government, in not allowing that claim, did not allow too much. I believe both governments are wholly wrong, in any sincere desire to arrest the African Slave trade, and both of them only play with the subject of the right of search as a party question—as a mere footfall of national honor, with no real interest or design so to interpret it as to hide the slave trade. I do not believe that, substantially, there is any difference of opinion between the two governments about this matter.

I think that, within the last two years, a great change has come over the politics of our States. We are, in one sense, "running for luck." Kansas has inaugurated a new system of politics. There is, practically, no such thing as constitutional law. Everything is right that any party can make right, and every party triumphs that has the ingenuity to cheat itself into a triumph (laughter). I think that the era of cheating has come. I believe the next Presidential election will be decided by cheating, not by votes. If I thought that it would be decided by a fair majority, I should have no doubt that the North would put its President into the chair. The last trial shows it. But Southern men have learned a new lesson within the last few years. They have learned in Kansas that they can stuff themselves, and create voters that do not count—men who were never thrown into political questions by schedules sworn to by proslavery officers, and with no real men beneath them. Do you think a government like ours learns that lesson and does not mean to practice it? No! Whenever a State is situated, it will be cheated in the Democratic party, and the next President will be a President of cheats, and not a President of the American States.

I think it is important to recollect this. I do not believe we are to have any help from the English government. It is practically, a pro-slavery government. Their mercantile interest is for peace. They do not mean to hazard anything for the sake of the slave.

Another thing. We have settled it that it is law which the people are willing to submit to. Listen to the recent discussions in Congress; there is no appeal to the acquiescence of the country. Nobody goes back to the Constitution. We have reached a new era. What I ask of the Abolitionists is to avail themselves of that position.

You are in politics, you that live under law, take with you into your politics the principle upon which the South governs. I am avers to politics, in the claims of a constitutional conscience, while the South is armed and equipped with no scruples to do anything she lists and wants. I believe, therefore, in the duty of Massachusetts, and every other Northern State, to make its own constitutional law; and that is the reason why I want Massachusetts at home to lay down the principle that the moment a slave touches her soil, she has made a law for herself that such simple cruelty under the free trees of Massachusetts is a charter of liberty and emancipation (loud cheers). This is one part of my programme. You know we have got a petition for it. I do not propose to sign that petition; I do not ask or expect any non-voter, who has refused to vote under the Constitution, because it contains a slave clause, to sign that petition. I will not ask another man to do what I will not do myself. But we are surrounded by a set of politicians, who, when we ask them how they can remain connected with this government, say, with Gerrit Smith, that there is no slave clause in the Constitution, or with John Pierpont, that it is a slave clause there, it is worth nothing; it is not binding; it is a dead letter; it is only a bold master's threat; and I say, therefore, to the Liberty party man, who follows Gerrit Smith, and thinks there is no slave clause in the Constitution or who follows John Pierpont, and says if it is there, it is null and void. "If you believe what you say, prove it by going up to Boston next winter, and pass a law that, as there is no clause binding Massachusetts to return slaves, Massachusetts hereby announces, by statute that she has a cell in the State Prison ready for the Judge or Commissioners—no matter what commission James Buchanan has given him—who promises to return a man from the soil of Massachusetts on the ground that he is a slave" (loud and prolonged applause). If *Free-Soil* means anything, it means this: The man who comes into our meetings, and who we charge him with being connected with a pro-slavery and slaveholding government, flings it back on our teeth, and says he is not—that Charles Sumner does not believe in it, that N. P. Banks repudiates it, that this, and the other celebrity deacons—it we have the right to say that that man and that party, stereotype your individual protest, into states; and if Massachusetts politics does not believe in returning slaves, say so by the vote of the State, and pledge the government to the protection of every man who once sets foot within her limits. If you will do that—once let an old, conservative, wealthy, original State like Massachusetts fling herself out of the Constitution by this construction, and we have set up a barrier against the Slave Power by the construction of the Constitution, such as it is.

I am in earnest. I do not believe in the United States government. I believe the Slave Power has got it and will keep it. If I cannot keep it by fair means, she will keep it by foul.

This is but one way by which we shall ever get control of this Union. It is not by the ballot-box; it is either by blood, or it is by such blackmail of the Slave Power as shall show her a North resolved to submit no longer.

This is home policy. I insist upon it. I will call every Free-Soller a liar and a hypocrite who refuses to sign that petition, or, in yester State, refuses to vote for such a law. No man can stand under the United States Constitution without being a kidnapper who is not willing to vote for that law. If you, Lysander Spooner, believe in no slave clause, vote for that law! If you, John Pierpont, believe that the clause is there, but not holding, show your faith by your works! We want no paper discussion. Give me a Massachusetts that is able to elect a fugitive slave for Governor; we could not have a better. Flare him in the face of the Union, and defy the government. I would like to put the very man who preceded me on this platform [Wm. W. Ellsworth] into the Governor's chair of Massachusetts (applause). When you come to principles, when you come to holding, these are the kind of acts that are needed. When the House of Commons turned John Wilkes out of their own body, really because he was a radical, but under the pretence that he was illegally elected, the voters said, "We will send him back until doomsday; because, if you prove him an infidel, if you prove him dissolute, if you prove him rapacious; if you prove him dishonest; if you prove him fit for the penitentiary, no matter! We have a right to elect him as our representative, and it is not for you to say that we shall not." So I would say to the Union, if I believed that these Liberty party men profess, what care the slaveholders for a hill, now and then, from Charles Sumner on the floor of the Senate, than there is no slave clause!

We want action! Heretofore, I shall call every American voter a kidnapper. If he repeats that he does not believe in the slave clause, I shall say, "Did you sign the petition?" If he says "Yes," I shall say, "He is a kidnapper!" and ask him if he voted for a representative who voted for him. If he did them I take back the epithet; but if he did not, if his representative skinned or opposed the action of Massachusetts in this State, then he is a kidnapper. If he is outside the church, he is a minister, religious kidnapper if he is outside the church, a worldly kidnapper if he is outside the church, he is a hypocrite! (Loud applause). Until he has placed on record his vote for the petition, until he has recorded his vote at the ballot-box for men who will take Massachusetts out of the category of slaveholding States, he is a kidnapper. If he sits in the Senate of the United States,

I know what men do at Washington—do honestly, do bravely there—they can do nothing efficiently there. You men whom I am addressing to-day, and thousands who are met in other towns to-day like us, you are the men who can abolish slavery in South Carolina, and not our Senators and Representatives in Congress assembled. It is your position, it is the action which we demand of your Representatives, that is to do the work. We have labored enough—been at home more than the last Day at Leominster. Some two or three of us made Discourse with some of some men of whom I have not seen them their right to vote: they did not believe in the slave clauses. I said to them, as I say to you, "I have not much quarrel with the way in which men interpret the Constitution, provided always they will show works equivalent to their theories. If you will go up to the ballot-box in November, and send men to Boston who will make the law of Massachusetts that slave shall ever be sent back, and impound every Massachusetts Judge who endeavours to check that law, and send to the State every United States Judge who opposes it, do you suppose we should have a Union?" "Never!" One thing at least I think this government, with the State of Massachusetts (Applause). Take possession of the Boston Faneuil Hall, remove it, if necessary, and shelter every fugitive slave, who will be satisfied to recognize it as a genuine anti-slavery political party, worthy the confidence and support of earnest Abolitionists, who believe in the necessity of government for freedom!

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MR. PHILLIPS.—Suppose you should see a man who is a member for church-membership, and he should propose to you conclusively that he never stole any of his neighbor's children; you would say that he was an honest man, as far; but you would say he had proved he was a Christian; because many a man is better than a thief, and yet considerably worse than a Christian (laughter and applause). So I should say of the Republican party, that the Commonwealth should take the position of the Government of Great Britain, *per se*, than my friend Mr. Phillips, namely, make Massachusetts a party for the Slave Power.

MR. PHILLIPS.—The question is, whether the Commonwealth should take the position of the Anti-Slavery party, or the position of the Slave Power?

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these little scrapes, which he lets me out of Mackay's paper for you.

Mrs. CHARLES MACLAY.

From the Boston Transcript, May 20.

The gentleman is seated in the steamer Oregon yesterday morning, en route to California. Quite a crowd of his persons friends are gathered about him again on the side of the Atlantic. A parting dinner was given to him on Tuesday evening, at which were present some of the most distinguished men of the country, and among them Mr. Loring, the son of Alfred Tennyson, proposed by Mr. Chapman as the most graceful and genial recognition of the author of "In Memoriam." The speech was received with enthusiasm, and the company on the occasion included Professors N. P. Loran, Agassiz and Lowell; Dr. George Eliot, Esq., Dr. John C. Draper, and Mr. W. E. Bassett, who gave him a hearty welcome. The speech was read by Professor Holmes (author of "The Professor at the Break-Table"), addressed to the Agents of the "Anti-Slavery Society."

"Then we could not understand. It didn't seem like the ground." Uncle Melch read on:

"Amidst us, we are happy to think, has just returned a friend. In good health, and with the grace of God in his pocket-handkerchief.

"Our friend is warm in his acknowledgments of our hearty welcome he received at the hands of the Society and the Pilgrims."

"When the Levellers are at it, they will stand across and give John [then a fellow-sharer of the hand of the devil]—not now, but when he comes back to fame. Mr. J. G. Whittier and Mr. W. E. Bassett are to speak to him."

"The speech was read by Professor Holmes (author of "The Professor at the Break-Table"), addressed to the Agents of the "Anti-Slavery Society."

"Then we could not understand. It didn't seem like the ground."

"But he is unlike the god in every other particular."

"One thing, however, is certain, for our encouragement. The servility of Pennsylvanians is gradually lessening; that of extremes of abjectness which has heretofore marked it. This is not, to be sure, in all cases to be so much attributed to conscience as to personal causes, but in these days we are obliged to be thankful for small favors, and welcome defection let it proceed from what source it may. These persons who are frequently designated as Southern traitors, are but sometimes quite tormented by the spirit of fanaticism, who are adduced to the service of their friends, the slaves."

"The printer's ink in the Anti-Slavery Society is white, and in this country his lectures on 'Peter and Paul'."

"So it seems," says he, "there's a squad more ready to come over upon the strength of it. They must think many more on the bushes here, and that they have only to call a black cow is white, one, to be made welcome to their pockets full."

"By this time it would be to turn the hay, and we had it!—it's almost ready to go for Garrison; and his song, which I give you now for the first time, to the world, is the best that when he was welling into old age, he did not plaster over into a new one, but talked free and true, and clear, like one who knew that the good time a-comin' must have the way set for it now."

Here's the song, and they say he lives up to it.

God speed the day of Jubilee,

The wide world over,

And all the slaves shall set free,

The oppressed shall wield the knee,

And wear the yoke of tyranny,

Like the rest of us,

They'll walk o'er, and freedom's reign

To make the world right again.

Restore,

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Like the rest of us,

They'll walk o'er, and freedom's reign

To make the world right again.

Restore,

God speed the day of Jubilee,

The wide world over,

And all the slaves shall set free,

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